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ABSTRACT

This bibliography for counseling psychologists focuses on differences in nonverbal behavior as an aspect of cross cultural psychotherapy. The introductory section discusses the purpose, scope and limitations of the report. Different theories of emotion (dimensional versus typological) are also discussed and classifications of nonverbal behavior are presented. The second section provides a discussion of the origin of human nonverbal behavior; subsections include a historical review of theories of nonverbal behavior including: emotional expression prior to Darwin; Darwin's contributions; the relativist stance and the influence of behaviorism; research by universalists; and current theorist debate. The 41 annotated citations from books, and newspaper and magazine articles review material on cultural patterns of kinesics (body motion), proxemics (orientation and distance between interacting people), and paralinguistic patterns (nonverbal vocalizations). The concluding section offers a summary, a review of research methods, and suggestions for future research. The report also includes a reference list. (WAS)

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CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON NONVERBAL BEHAVIOR

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGISTS

by

Laura Vogelaar

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"We are faced with the problem of building a new world; we have to reorient the old values of many contrasting and contradictory cultural systems into a new form which will use but transcend them all, draw on their respective strengths and allow for their respective weaknesses. We have to build a culture richer and more rewarding than any that the world has ever seen. This can only be done through a disciplined science of human relations and such a science is built by drawing out from very detailed, concrete materials ... the relevant abstractions - the vocabulary which will help us to plan an integrated world."

Gregory Bates and Margaret Mead, Balinese Character. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1942, p. xvi.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In a world where distances between nations and cultures become smaller every day, interest in crosscultural understanding is mandatory. In politics, business and everyday life the need to understand the culturally different becomes ever more acute. In the field of psychology the question may be asked whether or not the assumptions, goals and techniques of Western style psychotherapy are universally applicable. Some aspects of our culturally tainted perspective are listed by Kinzie (1978) as

> ... the desirability of change, the fact that learning or developmental difficulties play an etiological role, that a deficit can be corrected by relearning, that there is a relevance of human relationships, that the abilities of the therapist are enhanced by training, and that this process is time-linked (p. 511).

Apart from such differences in cultural values, can an American or European therapist be expected to understand the feelings communicated by a client from Nigeria or Japan? It has been suggested that the difficulties of crosscultural psychotherapy are so severe that effective crosscultural therapy is impossible.

Purpose of the Study

The present study will focus on one specific aspect of cross-cultural therapy, differences in nonverbal (NV) behavior. Human social interaction consists not only of verbal exchanges, but also of NV acts connected with facial expression, posture, appearance, tone of voice and a different usage of space and time. The importance of NV

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behavior as a carrier of information on emotion and attitude has been confirmed repeatedly. Researchers who have studied these issues include Argyle, Alkema and Gilmour, 1971; Berman, Shulman and Marwit, 1976; Cline, Atzet and Holmes, 1972; and Friedman, 1978. In these studies the communicative value of the verbal and nonverbal aspect of a message are measured and compared, the nonverbal aspect frequently emerging as the more effective one.

It is commonly believed that different societies have their own rules for NV behavior. Popular examples are easy to find: the respectful hissing of the Japanese, the elaborate gesticulation of the Southern European, the Arab who likes to stand so close that an American feels compelled to back up. But the confusion a therapist can find himself in working with a foreign client is not alleviated by a list of simple "do's" and "don'ts". The therapist continually gathers information in his attempt to understand as thoroughly as possible. Some of this information is received and processed outside of his direct awareness, NV signals being particularly likely to fall into this category. Such out-of-awareness information is, of course, not questioned or checked and can become a source of misunderstanding. Not only can the therapist form false ideas about the client's feelings or attitudes, but he may respond with an equally unchecked NV message. The likelihood of such NV miscommunication is greater in crosscultural sessions where the same smile or posture can mean different things in the two cultural backgrounds involved.

Despite the importance of the correct interpretation of NV signals, coverage of this topic has not been very systematic to date. There

have been some experiments with NV behavior in different world regions, and several theorists have searched for universal patterns. Few, if any, studies focus directly on the problems connected with NV behavior as they may occur in crosscultural psychotherapy.

This study will attempt to fill this need for a common focus and systematic approach. It will provide an extensively annotated bibliography of descriptive material, preceded by an overview of the historical development of the topic and of the attempts of today's social scientists to provide it with a cognitive framework. It is hoped that this thesis will provide a directory for therapists involved in crosscultural therapy, and that it will encourage further research in this relatively unexplored area.

Scope and Limitations

Nonverbal behavior, or "body language", has become a popular subject for many psychology writers today. The picture presented in some of these works is that NV messages are as easily read as verbal ones, once you learn the trick. Nothing is further from the truth. As Hall (1977) puts it:

> Far from being a superficial form of communication that can be consciously manipulated, nonverbal communication systems are interwoven with the fabric of the personality and into society itself, even rooted in how one experiences oneself as a man or a woman (p. 82).

The influence of culture on NV behavior is not a clearcut issue, and one has to keep in mind that every systematic approach to the topic will necessarily imply some oversimplification. One unavoidable limitation is the perception of the foreign client purely as a representative of his culture, not so much as a person in his own right,

with personal experiences that uniquely influence the way he expresses himself. Similarly, the culture under discussion is taken as a static entity, where in fact it may be very much in flux, changing its intrinsic rules under the impact of mass media and worldwide travel. But as long as such artificial demarcation lines are unavoidable, let them at least be stated clearly.

This thesis is concerned with NV behavior in different culture groups. The NV behavior that is most interesting for therapists is that which conveys emotional states. Which of the NV channels are specifically concerned with emotion, however, has not been determined as yet. Many say that only the face expresses emotion. But the emotional content of the posture of a baglady in a city park, or of the old guitarist in a painting by Picasso can hardly be denied. In order not to exclude any expressions that might possibly be emotional, this thesis deals with all NV behavior that may occur in the course of therapy, except deliberately designed sign languages. "NV behavior" and "NV expression of emotion" are therefore used interchangeably. In addition, some authors prefer the term "NV communication" when there is an obvious intention to communicate. Since most psychotherapists are likely to be interested in intended as well as unintended NV messages articles on NV communication will also be included.

No limits have been set concerning the inclusion of specific world regions. In fact, studies from all continents are included. The term "culture" as it is used here does not apply, however, to subcultural groups and ethnic minorities as they can be found within the boundaries of one country.

The bibliography contains material both on quality and on quantity of NV behavior, as both factors can be culturally determined. It features articles that address one specific culture and those that compare date from several cultures.

Lastly, it includes studies that focus on encoding as well as on decoding of NV behavior. These two concepts refer to the communication process involved and emphasize either the translation from emotion to NV expression (e.g. sadness is encoded as a sad face or crying), or that from NV expression to emotional meaning (e.g. my sad face is decoded by the other as sadness). Both these stages can be colored by culture, and both approaches are therefore included in this thesis.

Perspectives on Emotion

Different theories of emotion have been developed, most of which can be subsumed under a fundamental dichotomy: dimensional vs. typological. Those who adopt the dimensional approach define emotion as one or more dimensions characteristic of all behavior or of a large part of it.

Spencer (1855) was the first to state that one dimension of emotion, pleasantness-unpleasantness, transcended all other distinctions. Wundt's formulation (1896) added relaxation-tension and calm-excitement. A six-step linear scale of emotion was developed by Woodworth (1938) and redefined by Schlosberg (1954) as a three dimensional scheme featuring pleasantness-unpleasantness, attention-rejection and sleep-tension. Osgood (1966) attempted to combine the idea of separate emotions with the dimensional approach. He viewed a discreet emotion

as a point in a multi-dimensional space, representing a certain degree of one or more properties. Of course, while emotion was seen as dimensional so was emotion expression, and numerous experiments on the judgement of facial expression were conducted to back these theories. Where researchers made their focus crosscultural these studies have been included in our bibliography.

The typological approach to emotion is more familiar to most. Emotion is here divided into classes or types. An authority in the field is Tomkins (1964) who formulated the following emotion types and expressions: interest-excitement, enjoyment-joy, surprise-startle, distress-anguish, fear-terror, shame-humiliation, contempt-disgust, and anger-rage. Tomkins felt these emotions to be innate and fundamental to man. Most contemporary research on emotion expression uses Tomkins' list of basic emotions, although slight modifications do occur. The complementary concept of emotion "blends" was later developed by Ekman (see Chapter II).

Classification of Nonverbal Behavior

Whether emotion is seen as dimensional or typological, its expression is not necessarily restricted to the face. Rather, all NV channels should be considered as possible carriers of emotional information. The broad range of behaviors that can be called NV have been variously defined and classified.

Argyle (1969) categorized NV acts according to their role in social interaction. He described ten classes: bodily contact, proximity, orientation, appearance, posture, head-nods, facial expression, gestures, looking, and non-verbal aspects of speech.

Ekman and Friesen (1969) constructed five classes. They divided NV acts according to their communicative function: emblems, NV acts which have a direct verbal translation or dictionary definition (e.g. the sign for peace); illustrations, serving to illustrate what is being said verbally (e.g. pointing to the object); regulators, that regulate the back and forth nature of verbal interaction (e.g. the encouraging head-nod); affect displays, expressions of emotion with the face or body (e.g. weeping); and adaptors, thought to have developed in childhood and continuing into adult life as rudimentary fragments of the original behavior. Ekman's series is more limited than Argyle's in that it only covers body motion. He does not talk about bodily contact, proximity, appearance or NV aspects of speech. Other researchers who have developed classifications include Ruesch and Kees (1956), Birdwhistell (1970), Trager (1958), and Wiener, et.al. (1972).

From this multitude of systems Knapp (1972) derived a now generally accepted categorization of NV behavior. He divided NV acts as follows:

I. Body motion or kinesic behavior, which includes gestures, movements of the body, limbs, hands, feet and legs, facial expressions, eye behavior (including both gaze and mutual gaze or eye contact) and posture. This category is subdivided into the five classes mentioned above developed by Ekman;

II. Physical characteristics, NV clues which are not movement-bound, such as physique, weight, hair color and skin color;

III. Touching behavior, which deals with stroking, hitting, holding, etc.;

IV. Paralanguage, which covers all the aspects of how something is said as opposed to what is said;

V. Proxemics, which signifies use and perception of social and personal space;

VI. Artifacts, which includes make-up, clothes and use of objects in contact with the interacting person (e.g. the inevitable business card of the Japanese);

VII. Environmental factors, which concern elements such as furniture, lighting, noise, room temperature, etc.

Of the above categories, three seem to fit in with what can be expected to occur in an individual therapy session. These are: kinesics, proxemics, and paralanguage. Each will in turn be further explored.

For the purpose of this thesis, kinesics may well be the most important category of NV behavior. A wealth of therapeutic information can be derived from these bodily and facial cues. By far the most famous classification is that developed by Ekman, mentioned above. An earlier system, however, was designed by Efron (1941). Efron focused primarily on hand and head motions, to a lesser degree on trunk position. He distinguished (a) spatio-temporal, (b) inter-locutional, and (c) linguistic aspects of gesture. His subdivision of the last class into logical discursive and objective gestures contributed much to the understanding of the different functions of head and hand movements. Logical discursive gestures refer to the course of the ideational process in conversation. They "beat the tempo of mental locomotion"--batons, or "trace and sketch out in the air the path and direction of thought"--

ideographs. Objective gestures have a meaning independent of speech and include emblematic gestures, among others. As is seen here, it was Efron who coined the term "emblem", later redefined by Ekman to include both arbitrarily and iconically coded symbolic gestures. Another classification of kinesics was developed by Birdwhistell (1970). He also designed an extensive notational system in which a symbol is assigned to every isolable movement associated with the head and face, the shoulders and trunk, and the legs and feet. Body motion can be expected to vary extensively from one culture to another.

Proxemics deals with a small area of NV behavior, but it is an important category in terms of crosscultural variances. The authority in this field is Hall, author of the popular book of man's use of space The Hidden Dimension (1966). In an earlier work (1963) Hall delineates eight variables of proxemics and develops an extensive notational system for each. A brief review is in order. Hall distinguishes: postural-sex identifiers (standing-sitting-lying down, male-female), sociofugal-sociopetal axis (the orientation of the bodies toward of away from eachother), kinesthetic factors (distance, measured in possibility and mode of touching), visual code (from direct eye contact to looking away), thermal code (presence or absence of conducted or radiant body heat), olfaction (presence or absence of body or breath odor), and voice loudness (ranging from silence to very loud). The concept of proxemics as it will be used in this thesis will only include distance, orientation, olfaction, and body heat, eye contact and posture being described by Mark Knapp as kinesic behavior, and voice loudness as a member of the paralinguistic category. In The Hidden

Dimension, Hall develops a four point scale of distance as it is used in human interaction: intimate distance (up to 18"), personal (1½' to 4'), social (4' to 12') and public distance (12' to 25' or more). Degree of orientation as a sign of positive or negative attitude toward the addressee has been extensively explored by Mehrabian (1967, 1970). A meaningful NV message is evidently sent by the client who prefers the farthest seat or chooses to sit turned away from the therapist. Cultural differences in proxemics have been frequently noted.

The third category, paralanguage, has been further explored by the linguist Trager (1958). He divides this area of NV sounds into two types. Voice qualities include all the characteristics of a person's voice, such as pitch range, rhythm control, tempo and articulation. Vocalizations represent someone's NV sounds at a certain point in time, and are typified as vocal segregates (the "uh-huh"s and "ah"s and variants thereof), vocal qualifiers (intensity, extenders [drawl or clipping] and pitch height), and finally vocal characterizers which include everything else from crying to hiccupping to a good sneeze. In short, paralanguage covers all those vocal cues that therapists have long recognized as betraying the feelings that underly the verbal content of a message.

Guide to the Chapters that Follow

In compiling this annotated bibliography the main goal is to present psychotherapists working with foreigners with a useful tool in their efforts to understand their clients better. Using Knapp's categorization of NV behavior, kinesics, proxemics, and paralanguage

were chosen as three types of NV acts that can be expected to occur in crosscultural psychotherapy.

In Chapter III of this thesis experimental research projects as well as purely descriptive material on NV behavior in different cultures has been gathered and presented in a bibliographical format. Chapter IV will offer a summary and conclusions. First, however, Chapter II will provide a historical overview of theories on the origin of NV behavior, and the scientific debate that till this day underlies all crosscultural research in this area.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN OF HUMAN NONVERBAL BEHAVIOR

Introduction

The influence of culture on NV behavior cannot be denied. When an American and a Chinese are interacting their postures and facial expressions, hand and body movements are as different as their respective countries. To determine and document these subtle differences has been the task of descriptive research. But, how far do these differences go? Is NV behavior comparable to language, a complex communication system acquired only through learning and completely unintelligible to the uninformed foreigner? Or, is there some kind of universal code that underlies the numerous differences, perhaps an innate pattern that facilitates spontaneous communication? What is the origin of emotional expression in man?

The present chapter gives an overview of the research addressing these questions. From pre-Darwinian times, scientists have disagreed upon the answer. Two main factions have developed: the cultural relativists, who answer that NV behavior is learned, oppose universalists who believe it is an inborn trait in man. Each perspective dictates a different attitude toward the possibility of true cross-cultural communication.

Emotional Expression Before Darwin

The work of Charles Darwin, The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals (1872), profoundly influenced scientific thought regarding

emotion expression. To fully appreciate the novelty of Darwin's approach, it is necessary to briefly review earlier theories.

Darwin credits Charles Bell as having laid the foundations of NV emotion expression as a true branch of science. In his Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression (1844), he described the relationship between the movements involved in emotion expression and those used for respiration. This contribution remained purely descriptive, though, for reasons later explained.

Much of the photographic material that Darwin was able to draw upon was produced by Duchenne (1862). This scientist created different facial expressions in his subjects by making use of electricity. Thus, he illustrated his theory of a connection between facial expression on the one hand and the separate action of specific facial muscles on the other.

Pierre Gratiolet, a French anatomist, was one of the first to attempt an explanation of the phenomenon of expression. However, his concept of a "sentiment correlatif" (corresponding awareness) which evolved in the external organs as a result of action in the senses, the imagination, and the mind didn't seem to offer much clarification. From Darwin's point of view, Gratiolet overlooked a crucial point: habit, individually formed (ontogenetic) and inherited through many generations of the species (phylogenetic)--an especially important point for Darwin's theory.

A crucial opponent to Darwin's theory of hereditary habit was Piderit who stressed the importance of direct sensory impressions. In Piderit's view, all ideas had pleasant or unpleasant qualities and, as

such, acted as a stimulus for pleasant or unpleasant sensory impressions. These impressions, in turn, resulted in positive or negative expressive movements.

However, none of the above theorists, no matter how inquisitive, could truly investigate the question of the origin of emotion expression. The reason for this was that they were a priori convinced man came into existence in his present condition. In their view, the muscles used in expressing emotion could only be seen as being created by God, especially and uniquely for this purpose. Consequently, from the creationist perspective, the question of cultural influences was a moot point. Duchenne wrote:

> Once having created this language of facial movements, God decided to make it universal and permanent, giving every human being the instinctive faculty to always express his feelings through the contraction of the same muscles (Darwin, 1872, p. 11).[1]

In such a scientific climate, the contribution of both Spencer and Darwin cannot be overestimated.

The English philosopher Herbert Spencer applied evolutionary theory to all branches of knowledge. In his Principles of Psychology (1855), he stated that the movements made in expressing an emotion are the same as those that would accompany the related human act. The expression of anger, for example, would involve the same muscles as the actual killing of prey. In other words, Spencer reached the same conclusion as Darwin:[2]

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[1]Ce langage de la physionomie une fois cree, il lui a suffi, pour le rendre universel et immuable, de donner a tout etre humain la faculte instinctive d'exprimer toujours ses sentiments par la contraction des memes muscles.

[2]Darwin is careful to point out that his first notes on the subject of expression bore the date 1838, many years before Spencer's publication.

the origin of emotion expression can be found in man's past, in the centuries of evolution of the human species.

Darwin

Like many theorists on expression after him, Darwin was not primarily interested in the cultural influences on NV behavior. He had a theory to prove and needed all the help he could get to convince his rather appalled audience. In order to show that man descended from the apes he needed to find convincing similarities in the behavior of both species. And, in order to show that all races of man had a common progenitor—one of the common links in his argument—he needed proof that men behave the same way the world over. Thus, he became an important exponent in today's debate on the cultural influence of NV behavior, the champion of the universalist view.

Darwin found three principles according to which the expression of emotions seemed to operate. According to the Principle of Serviceable Associated Habits, "... movements which are serviceable in gratifying some desire, or in relieving some sensation, if often repeated, become so habitual that they are performed... whenever the same desire or sensation is felt..." (p. 347). The second principle is that of Antithesis, "... if certain actions have been regularly performed in accordance with our first principle, under a certain frame of mind, there will be a strong and involuntary tendency to the performance of directly opposite actions..." (pp. 347-348). Third, there is the Principle of Direct Action of the Nervous System. Under conditions of high stimulation, excess "nerve-force" is transmitted in a certain specific direction. This direction is "... necessarily determined by

the lines of connection between nerve-cells...," but also "... influenced by habit inasmuch as nerve-force passes readily along accustomed channels" (p. 348).

Before Darwin was able to formulate these principles, he made a close study of the behavior of varying populations. He looked at the behavior of infants and of the insane ("... as they are liable to the strongest passions and give uncontrolled vent to them" (p. 13)), at Dr. Duchenne's photographs, at emotion expression as portrayed by artists in paintings and sculptures, and at emotion expression in animals. He also studied people from foreign cultures.

Darwin's culture research was conducted by means of a questionnaire sent to missionaries and other observers of what he called the most distinct and savage races of man. From this material he drew the conclusion that, although there were variations with respect to both the occasion and the expression of emotion, "... the different races of man express their emotions and sensations with remarkable uniformity throughout the world" (p. 13).

According to Darwin, then, the fundamental emotions were not irrecognizably influenced by cultural factors. This view formed a starting point from which various lines of thinking branched out. Contemporary thought on NV behavior, be it of universalist or relativist stock, could not have been without Darwin's work.

The Relativist Stance and the Influence of Behaviorism

Darwin and the belief in innate patterns of emotion expression was to have many followers in the later part of the 20th century. Before that time, however, this era saw the development of a powerful

new school of thought: behaviorism. The successes of physics, with its exact measurement and intersubjective verification, set a model for all scientific activity. To make measurement and verification possible, a science from now on needed to deal solely with observable data. For the study of the psyche of man, a notoriously evasive subject, this meant a unique emphasis on its only observable facet: behavior. Man finally became understandable, ruled as he was by a simple set of behavior patterns that evoked certain reactions to specific environmental stimuli. Because the term "emotion expression" assumed too readily the existence of emotions, the focus was shifted to NV behavior. Paradoxically, although Darwin's belief in innate emotion expression made him the father of the universalist view, it was his suggestion of the likeness of man and animal which helped the development of behaviorism and the relativist stance it entailed.

A key figure in behaviorism in America was J.B. Watson. It is interesting to note that he, in his earlier work, did believe in unlearned emotional responses, specifically in fear, rage, and love. Later Watson greatly reduced the role of innate patterns in behaviorism, now emphasizing that conditioning could even begin before birth.

SR psychology naturally encouraged scientific interest in the development of the child. Probably the most influential work on emotional responses in infants was that of Sherman (1927, 1928). From his experiments with human neonates, he concluded that "the emotional reactions in any particular situation are dependent upon specific stimuli tending to call out a response and upon the past experience of the individual" (p. 394). In other words, Sherman viewed all emotional

reactions as environmentally, and thus culturally, determined.

Another influential study was that of Dennis (1935). Experimenting with the smiling reactions of infants between 36 and 112 days old, he found that smiling was a learned response to any stimulus that would be a signal of relief to the infant.

Similar arguments against the theory of innate patterns of emotion expression were presented by Landis (1924, 1929), who worked with adults. He exposed his subjects to a series of situations and recorded the emotions they felt (by subjective report) as well as their facial expressions. Landis' study showed no conceivable link between emotions felt and expressions shown, and he concluded that a given emotion has no set form of expression.

Research by Universalists

The scientists who directly followed Darwin's theory of innate emotion expression focused their research on diverse kinds of subjects; among them were infants, the blind, and animals. Goodenough (1931) photographed the expression of a 10 month old infant exposed to eight emotion-evoking situations. These photographs were shown to a group of university students whose efforts to match them with the appropriate situation were very successful.

Several studies with blind subjects - who are not in a position to learn emotion expression by imitation - have also produced data favoring the view that the genes might play an prominent role in emotion expression. Again, Goodenough (1932) studied a 10 year old girl who had been blind from birth and concluded that she showed all of the basic expressions described by Darwin. Dumas (1932, 1948) found that some of the

emotions were expressed by the blind in the same way as by normals. In addition, Thompson (1941) identified expressions of joy, sadness, and anger in the blind.

Experiments with animals were conducted by Hebb (1946) and Harlow (1959, 1960). Both suggested that various emotional reactions of chimpanzees and monkeys might be unlearned.

An important theorist in the evolutionary genetic tradition was Karl Lorenz (1965, 1966). With Tinbergen he was the founder of a new branch of science: ethology, or the comparative biological study of human and animal behavior. Lorenz suggested that the term "innate" had not been used appropriate and stressed that the view of innate emotions and that of learned emotions were not necessarily mutually exclusive. His most famous study of emotion expression focused on human aggression, which he described as a natural inclination held in control by social instincts and convention. Eibl Eibesfeldt, his pupil and later colleague at the Max Planck Institut in Seewiesen Germany, conducted extensive crosscultural research to support the ethological viewpoint.

With Eibesfeldt, we come to the contemporary researchers in the field of nonverbal expression of emotion who have specifically concentrated on crosscultural research. As we shall see, the "nature vs. nurture" debate, as the relativist-universalist opposition is sometimes called, continues to permeate today's work in the area of emotion expression.

Current Debate

Klineberg is generally known as one of the earlier relativist

writers. In his study of Chinese Literature (1938), he cites numerous cultural differences in emotion expression, but he also writes: "there is no doubt of the frequent similarity between Chinese and Western forms of expression" (p. 518). Klineberg does acknowledge the all-important role of convention in the Chinese culture, but he does not make a distinction between pure emotion expression (e.g., when the subject is not in the presence of others) and culturally prescribed emotion expression during social interaction. In his social psychology textbook (1940), his tentative conclusion is "... that the weight of evidence is in favor of the hypothesis of cultural or social determination of emotion expression" (p. 180).

Another advocate of the cultural relativist viewpoint is the anthropologist La Barre (1947). Although he presents anecdotal material that is not scientifically based, he feels confident to state that "... there is no natural language of emotional gesture" (p. 55).

Birdwhistell has earlier been mentioned as a prominent theorist in the field of kinesics. With a background in linguistics and dance notation, he views nonverbal expression as very similar to language and, as such, a purely cultural phenomenon. He started his search from a universalist perspective, but later changed his position on the ground that he simply could not find any universals. Other studies with results that point in the direction of cultural relativism include those by Dickey and Knower (1941), Triandis and Lambert (1958), Cuceloglu (1970), and Jakobson (1972).

Because the material presented by the relativists consists mostly of descriptive reports of differences between cultures, as opposed to

the elaborate theory building of the universalists, the presentation of their work here has been relatively brief. Their studies will be reviewed more extensively in Chapter III.

A universalist and major representative of the ethological perspective is Eibesfeldt, mentioned earlier as Karl Lorenz' pupil. Eibesfeldt spent many years gathering material on human expressive behavior. He filmed such behavior in numerous cultures, using amplified lens cameras so that his subjects would be unaware of the observation. For every filmclip he wrote a commentary stating the context and circumstances of the behavior. His observations yielded both similarities and differences between cultures.

Though he presents some expressions as unquestioningly universal--such as crying, smiling, stamping the feet in anger, flirting and greeting--others need some analysis and interpretation to deserve this label. The specific meaning of these behaviors, the circumstances under which they are used, do not always coincide in all cultures. Still, according to Eibesfeldt, there exists an underlying, universally shared pattern that only needs some uncovering. An example is his elaborate analysis of the "eyebrow flash", which evolved from being a universal epiphenomenon to the opening of the eye when paying attention, to a signal for "yes" in one culture and for "no" in another. Basic forms of behavior can thus be used in different ways, or as Eibesfeldt puts it: "Variability results from man's ability to substitute a variety of behavior patterns as functional equivalents within a given framework of rules, characteristic for the particular strategy" (1979, p.28)

Eibesfeldt has interesting suggestions regarding the origin of

these universal behavior patterns. First, they can develop as a result of common conditions in early upbringing. An example here would be Darwin's suggestion that the headshake signalling "no" derives from the child's turning of the head when refusing the breast after satiation. Then, they can be a function of limitations based on the human anatomy. Finally, of course, there is the explanation that these behaviors are "phylogenetic adaptations," a concept endlessly more refined than the "innate" of previous theories. This is the point where Eibesfeldt's ethological background surfaces. The study of animal behavior has shown that phylogenetic adaptations can take the form of inborn skills, innate releasing mechanisms, drive mechanisms, and inborn dispositions to learn (1970). In how far these same phenomena can be found in man is not clear yet, but some of them seem to offer believable explanations of universals in human expressive behavior.

Eibesfeldt's study of the deaf-and-blind-born (1973) showed smiling and crying behavior that could not have been learned by children growing up in eternal darkness and silence. Still, they learn, and inborn learning dispositions could be the solution. Eibesfeldt mentions a study by Ball and Tronick (1971) which showed avoidance reactions and an increase of pulse rate in 15 day-old infants as a response to a symmetrically expanding dark spot projected at a screen. It was assumed that the infants interpret the visual image as an object approaching in collision course although they never experienced such a situation before. These and similar phenomena point in the direction of an inborn biased perception or, to use the official term, an "innate

releasing mechanism." Such biases in our perception can certainly be assumed to shape expressive behavior.

At one point Eibesfeldt remarks: "it is a striking experience, indeed, to come in contact with people of another culture who have not had any contact with the outer world so far, and to realize how easy it is to communicate on the basis of nonverbal expressive behavior" (p. 18). Eibesfeldt's contribution in offering solutions to this puzzling phenomenon is impressive indeed.

There have been other universalists who have offered a theoretical framework away from the much too rigid "nature vs. nurture" dichotomy. In a recent article, La France and Mayo (1978) suggested that the level of observation and analysis is paramount in the discovery of either similarities or differences in NV behavior. Their scale of levels of analysis resembles the distinction between report and command in communication theory, the report side dealing with the "what", the command side with the "how" of a communicated message. They mention specifically three levels of analysis best visualized as successive layers around a core. The innermost core represents NV behavior considered to be universal and innate, revealed when analysis is at the level of the individual engaged in pure emotional expression (report). Next come the NV behaviors that show both uniformity and diversity. The level of analysis here is that of interpersonal relationships. People of all cultures display affection, express intimacy, and deal with status in their relationships with others, but the particular signs of doing so are variable (report and command). Finally, there are culture-bound NV behaviors which differ across cultures. These mostly derive from

the social environment in which communication takes place and are concerned with language-related acts that manage conversation (command). By pointing out these different research perspectives, La France and Mayo hope to show that the nature/nurture polarized focus of earlier studies is unproductive and unnecessary.

A third theoretical framework for NV expressive behavior has been designed by Ekman (1969, 1972a, 1972b, 1973). Based on extensive research, his theory is elaborate but very worthwhile. Ekman's five categories of NV behavior were briefly mentioned earlier. This categorization is not arbitrary, but based on three criteria: origin, usage, and coding.

Usage refers to the regular and consistent circumstances surrounding the occurrence of a NV act, and includes external conditions, relationships to verbal behavior, awareness of the subject, intention to communicate, feedback from the observer, and information conveyed by the act. With coding, Ekman refers to the manner in which meaning is contained in the NV act, which may be intrinsic, extrinsic and iconic, or extrinsic and arbitrary. For our purposes his most significant criterium for categorization, however, is the origin of the NV act.

Three types of origin can be distinguished. Supplementing the traditional innate and learned behaviors, Ekman presents a third category that is "acquired as part of the species-constant experience of the human equipment" (1969, p. 59). The innate behaviors are, of course, similar across cultures; the learned behaviors either similar or diverse, depending on whether the formative experiences are species--

constant or not. Of Ekman's five categories (see Chapter I) four are explicitly learned: emblems, illustrators, regulators and adaptors. Emblems are almost consciously learned, illustrators and regulators less consciously acquired, and adaptors are formed by a more individualized learning process.

Only the fifth category, affect displays, seems to contain nonverbal acts that have been proven universal. These acts concern mostly the expression of the seven emotions that Ekman suggested might be the primary affects. Ekman argues that if observers can distinguish among these states when viewing a human face, then there must be some specifiable cues, which can be coded or quantified. His hypothesis is that there is a direct connection between facial musculature and affect, each emotion being connected with a particular set of neural impulses which transmit to the facial muscles of the brows/forehead, eyes/eyelids and lower face/mouth. Since all humans have similar nervous sytems these expression types are universal.

Still, there are many differences in affect displays between cultures, and in explaining the origin of these variations, Ekman makes his greatest contribution. He states four sources of cultural variety: evoking stimuli or illicitors, emotion "blends", behavioral consequences and display rules.

That similar stimuli can evoke different emotions across cultures seems quite obvious, although this point has been overlooked in much of the earlier research. With emotion blends Ekman refers to combinations of affect that occur simultaneously or in rapid sequence, dictated by evoking stimuli or by learned habits which associate one emotion with

another. Such blends can vary between cultures, and even between social classes and individuals. Behavioral consequences of an affect display can also produce variations. These are the movements and postures of the body which coincide with and follow an emotion expression in an effort to cope with it. For example, the behavioral consequence of flight might occur as a coping procedure for anger or fear. The last of these cultural influences on emotion expression, what Ekman calls display rules, are somewhat similar to the concept of command mentioned by La France and Mayo. Display rules are socially learned and describe different procedures for the management of affect displays in various social settings. Display rules can prescribe de-intensifying the emotion expression or over-intensifying it, denying it by appearing neutral and unmoved, or masking it with another affect. How people are allowed to react to an event, depending on their age, sex, status, social role, etc., is heavily determined by culture.

Friesen (1972) has illustrated the influence of display rules with an interesting research project involving Japanese and American subjects. The popular notion of the inscrutability of the Japanese could well be a result of severe display rules functioning in their society. To test this notion Ekman and Friesen filmed these groups while experiencing certain emotions induced by viewing a stress film. The subject's reactions were filmed both in the presence of others and while he was alone. Strikingly similar facial responses were observed for the Japanese and the American subjects when they were alone. When in the presence of others the Japanese group showed more positive emotions and less negative ones.

As proof for the universality of certain basic emotion expressions Ekman presents an impressive series of research projects (1973), conducted in literate and pre-literate cultures, using both posed and spontaneous facial expression.

The last prominent universalist to be mentioned here is the psychologist Izard (1968, 1971). His research supports Ekman's findings. Izard used posed facial expressions, showing what in an earlier experiment had been judged by Americans to be eight basic emotion expressions. These photographs were then interpreted by subjects in nine literate cultures. The emotion judged by the majority of participants in one culture was almost always the same in the others. Although no pre-literate cultures were included in this project the results were still quite convincing.

Summary

While the nature/nurture dispute on emotion expression is generally regarded as unsolved, evidence supporting the existence of some universal factors seems quite convincing. Theorizing on the question of universality seems to have shifted from a rigid dichotomizing to a genuine effort to understand the mysterious elements that make basic crosscultural nonverbal communication possible, without denying the real potential for misinterpretation. This new research perspective forms a valuable background to the more abundantly available descriptive information presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Introduction

In Chapter I, the seven categories of NV behavior developed by Knapp were presented, and three of these were selected as specifically pertinent to crosscultural psychology. Kinesics was defined as including gestures, movements of the body, limbs, hands, feet and legs, facial expressions, eye behavior and posture, and this category was expected to yield a large amount of bibliographical material. This turned out to be true. Indeed, about 60 percent of the presented materal concerns kinesic acts, which suggests that we are most aware of this type of NV behavior. Because of the broad range of behaviors classified as kinesic, a brief review of its subdivisions will be helpful.

Efron coined the word 'emblems,' but it was Ekman who gave it its now common use as NV acts that have a direct verbal translation or dictionary definition, and can be both arbitrarily and iconically coded. These gestures are mostly within the awareness of the actor and are therefore less likely to generate misunderstanding. Ekman's illustrators and regulators and Efron's batons and ideographs are all closely connected with language and could almost be classified as paralinguistic behaviors. Affect displays form probably the most significant subclass for psychotherapists. These are expressions of emotion with the face or body that the person is often not cognitively aware of. Subconscious

ideas about the other person's feelings are easily formed on the basis of these affect displays. If this type of NV behavior, then, turns out to be culturally determined, crosscultural psychotherapy--without special training--will be practically impossible. The fifth subclass of kinesic behavior, adaptors, varies from one individual to another and will not specifically generate more problems in crosscultural situations.

Only some of the articles will use Ekman's or Efron's subclassifications of kinesic behavior, and presentation of the following material according to these systems seems, therefore, inappropriate. In fact, some authors do not limit themselves even to one category but present material from all NV areas. Full abstracts of such articles are found under proxemics or paralanguage.

Proxemics designates a significantly smaller portion of this bibliography, limiting itself to those acts that concern use and perception of space. This determinant of human behavior as well as the behavioral variations it generates among cultures was first described by Hall. Hall's four-point scale of American interaction distance--intimate (less than 18"), personal (one to four feet), social (four to twelve feet), and public (twelve feet and more)-- as well as his useful notation system have been accepted by most writers in this area today. Proxemics as it is used in this study includes both orientation and distance between interactants.

Paralanguage, as defined by Trager, covers two classes of language related factors. Voice qualities are pitch range, rhythm control, tempo, articulation. The term vocalization covers all vocal as opposed

to verbal human sounds. Material in this third caregory of NV behavior, notwithstanding a thorough search of the Language and Language Behavior Abstracts, turned out to be surprisingly scarce. This is disappointing because research in this area would appear so potentially fruitful in facilitating crosscultural psychotherapy. Western psychotherapy has long recognized these vocal behaviors as conveying meaningful emotional information. If these behaviors differ across cultures or language groups, miscommunication can easily result. Still, personal experiences with Orientals suggest that such differences do exist. A person speaking Japanese or Chinese, where the sounds follow each other rapidly and where voice pitch is higher, easily appears overexcited to a Westerner. Similarly, the tendency to constantly vocally encourage the speaker to continue up to the point of interrupting the speaker to do so, may create the adverse impression that the person is not listening at all. The material on paralanguage was often purely linguistic in nature and outside the scope of this paper. It is hoped that theorists on cultural differences in human behavior will soon direct their attention to this promising field.

The presentation of the bibliographical material follows the notation system introduced by Grove (1975). The specific text that has been abstracted is underlined. The source of the text is presented in capital letters. When a whole book is abstracted, the title is therefore underlined as well as capitalized. In addition, in every article the culture group that is addressed is underlined, so that information on certain world regions can easily be found. Finally, specific examples of NV behavior have only been included in the abstract when the article in question was relatively short.

KINESICS

Alsop, Stewart

How To Speak French Without Saying A Word. SATURDAY EVENING POST, Vol. 233 (Dec. 24-31, 1960), 26-29

This is a truly funny article consisting of photographs and descriptions of some very French gestures. What Alsop calls "Polite Skepticism," for example, is expressed by half closing the eyes while placing the hands on the top part of where one's tie is supposed to be pretending to subtly adjust this garment. "Impolite Skepticism," however, is conveyed by applying the index finger of the right hand to the cheek and making a circular motion, meanwhile assuming a facial expression that Alsop describes--and that can only be described--as "suggesting the recent sucking of a lemon" (p. 27). The index finger placed alongside the nose can have many meanings in France, but combined with the facial expression of surprise it definitely portrays "Amused Amazement." Another famous gesture is the placing of the thumbnail inside the upper front teeth and bringing it forward in a sharp motion. No Frenchman will misunderstand this sign of "Open Contempt." "Profound Disgust" is expressed by placing the hand upon the nose and then bringing it down. "A Feeling of Admiration" can hardly be misunderstood even by non-Frenchman, especially after viewing Alsop's lively performance of this gesture (though it does have certain additional meanings in some world regions). The thumb and forefinger meet to form a circle, while the face expresses definite eagerness. Pointing the thumb toward the lip is generally known as signalling a "Generous Invitation." Alsop ends his list with "Let's Get the Hell Out of Here"--holding out

the right hand and sharply bringing down the left hand on the wrist—and "Let's Get the Hell Out of Here - But Fast!"—bringing the left hand down smartly over the crook of the right elbow. These last two seem to have been specifically useful to him during the war years in France. Although the article is primarily meant to be funny, the depicted gestures can indeed be seen daily in France. Furthermore, an interesting notion that is unintentionally conveyed by the author derives from the subtle and necessary interplay of face and hands. After reading this article one starts questioning whether facial expressions and gestures can actually be studied as separate behavior, as has been the case in much scientific research.

Argyle, M. & Cook, M.

The Biological and Cultural Basis of Gaze. In GAZE AND MUTUAL GAZE, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

In this chapter, Argyle and Cook state that gaze patterns are determined both biologically and culturally. Several types of eye movements—such as pupil dilation and the orienting reflex—are controlled by different neural systems. The resulting gaze patterns are innate. Gaze is also affected, however, by early experiences connected with mother-child interaction and can, therefore, easily be culturally determined. Argyle and Cook review descriptive information regarding eye contact in several cultures based on recent studies, some of which are reported on in the present chapter. They stress the impact of explicit cultural rules regarding eye behavior, e.g. in our culture excessive staring is seen as impolite. Lowering of the eyes is mentioned as a possibly

universal signal of submission. Finally, gaze is often only a part of an overall NV behavior pattern and in cultures where expression is inhibited, eye-contact can be expected to be low.

Bateson, G. & Mead, M.

BALINESE CHARACTER. Special Publication of the New York Academy of Sciences, II, 1942.

This is an account of the culture of the Balinese of Bajoeng Gede, based on two years of extensive anthropological study and presented in the form of brief descriptions accompanying selected series of photographs. This abstract focuses specifically on plate 21-hand postures in daily life, and plate 24-the surface of the body. Balinese body movement emanates from the prevalent fantasy of the body as made of separate independent parts (Beroek) as if it were a puppet just pinned together at the joints. According to Mead and Bateson, as a result of this notion, Balinese hand postures, whether in movement or at rest, differ markedly from those in Western cultures. While we tend to place our hands in positions of regular flexion, the hands of the Balinese are more usually in positions which appear to us irregular and they tend to emphasize the sensory function of the fingertips. Also connected with this fantasy is the idea that every imperfection of the body or skin is a disaster. People with open sores cannot enter the temple, prepare offerings for the gods or be buried in a proper cemetery. The Balinese is, therefore, worried about the condition of his skin and can be seen almost constantly searching his skin surface for small imperfections. Emotion expression is minimal as is evident from Mead's

description, "... Life is without climax, and not the ultimate goal but rather the first impact of experience, the initial ping of startle, is the only stimulus that has real power to arouse one's interest. And there is always the danger that one may not be aroused at all. ... life is a rhythmic, patterned unreality of pleasant, significant movement, centered in one's own body to which all emotion long ago withdrew" (p. 48).

Bond, H.M. & Komai, H.

Targets of Gazing and Eye Contact During Interviews: Effects on Japanese Nonverbal Behavior. JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, 1976, 34, 1276-1284.

In this experiment the effects were tested of one type of NV behavior, gaze and eye contact, on Japanese interactants. Two interviewers and 18 interviewee subjects were given specific instructions regarding their eye behavior, so that four situations of two minutes each were alternately created: eye contact (mutual gaze), subject gazing at interviewer, interviewer gazing at subject, and no gazing by either party. It was hypothesized that as a result of this eye behavior the following NV behaviors of the interviewee subjects would change: frequency in torso movements, average response latency (time taken before responding to a question), self-manipulations of the hands, gestures of the hands, pause average, total talking time, physical proxemity (backward and forward lean), and smiling.

The findings of the study were threefold. First, being gazed at did affect the NV behavior of the interviewee. A general reduction took place in hand gestures, torso movements, and average response latency.

Second, the effect of interviewer gaze was the same whether the subject returned the gaze or not. Third, the behavior of the subjects showed an increase in hand manipulations when gazing at the interviewer. Earlier studies with Japanese subjects have suggested that this response pattern indicates speaker involvement in the interaction as a result of a more positive evaluation of the interview. Similar results have been found for Western subjects, though the positive evaluation was expressed via alternative NV channels.

Brault, G.J.

Kinesics and The Classroom: Some Typical French Gestures. FRENCH REVIEW, 1962, 36, 374-382.

Brault combines a search of French literature with personal observation in order to compile a list of 21 typically French gestures. French literature from the Middle Ages onward is a rich source of descriptions of NV behavior, and gestures in particular. Still, according to Brault, these behaviors are often not exclusively French. More recent material proved to be a better source of descriptions of the typically French gesture. Even when some share their outward form with Italian or Spanish gestures, they will have their unique meaning when used in France. Brault gives specific descriptions of all 21 gestures. In addition to this list, Brault mentions the following general tendencies in the use of NV behavior in France: First, where American gestures are generally synchronous with speech, French gestures anticipate verbal expression. Second, gestures are used more frequently by men than by women, more by the uneducated than the educated. This same tendency

has been noted by Hamelian for the Arab world (see further in this chapter), and we may be dealing with a universal phenomenon here.

Brewer, W.D.

Patterns of Gesture Among the Levantine Arabs. AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 53, 232-235.

Based on personal observation of daily life in Saudi Arabia, Brewer designs a three-fold classification of Arab gestures. He stresses the point that this pattern may not be universally applicable because there are many general differences between Arab and American gesticulation. First, Middle Eastern gestures are generally more obvious in the sense of "rotund and fluid" than ours. They also have far more precise and elaborate meanings. Lastly, the Arab apparently does not gesticulate more when excited, where this factor seems very significant for Westerners.

Brewer's criterion for classification is the degree of lexical meaning of each gesture. He distinguishes: I. "Gestures with symbolic meaning which are used and fully understood independent of speech; II. Gestures with pictorial meaning which usually occur in specific conversational situations and which might not be understood independent of speech; III. Gestures with merely emphatic meaning which occur in specific conversational situation and which would be virtually incomprehensible independent of speech" (p. 234). He then gives specific examples of behaviors in all three classes. It is surprising to find that Brewer's examples often convey messages such as "injured innocence" (p. 235), not wanting to take responsibility or a desire not to be included in the group. One general meaning, then, that seems very pervasive in much of the gesticulation in Saudi Arabia is that of

disassociation.

Cuceloglu, D.M.

Perception of Facial Expressions in Three Different Cultures. ERGONOMICS, 1970, 13, 1, 93-100.

Cuceloglu's aim in this study is to compare the perception of facial expressions and the coding procedures underlying it in three countries: America, Japan, and Turkey. He designed 60 stylized facial expressions by combining four eyebrow types with three eye types and five mouth types. These drawings were then shown to 60 male college students, 20 in each country, who named each emotion portrayed by the expressions. From these data, the 40 most consistently used emotion names were selected. The experiment was then repeated, but this time the subject selected the emotion name for each expression from this 40 word list. Finally, the subjects were asked to rate the correspondence between face and emotion on a six-point scale ranging from "very similar" to "very different."

Factor analysis of this multitude of data yielded three factors which together accounted for 72.4 percent of the total variance and which seemed truly crosscultural in character: pleasantness, irritation, and non-receptivity. Cuceloglu argues that these three dimensions coincide with those found in many earlier studies, though slightly different names were used. The sets of faces selected by each culture group for these emotion dimensions are reproduced in their entirety in this article. It will be interesting for a psychotherapist working with Turkish and Japanese clients to have a closer look at these

separate facial expressions and their differences or similarities to those of his own culture group.

Dickey, E.C. & Knower, F.H.

A Note on Some Ethnological Differences in Recognition of Simulated Expressions of the Emotions. AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, 1941, 47, 190-193.

This study compares the ability of Mexican and American children to recognize emotion expressions. School children in Mexico City and in Minneapolis were asked to judge two sets of 11 emotion expressions simulated by a man and a woman. The groups of subjects were approximately matched for academic status and age. A flash-card method of presenting the pictures was used. The subjects were asked to study the picture and record its number next to the emotion word that best labelled the expression shown.

The results of the study showed that Mexican children were significantly better at recognition of these expressions, with the exception of the expression of laughter. The results are the more interesting in view of the fact that the pictures and judging sheets used were developed by Americans for Americans. No specific explanations are suggested for the results of this study, though it is stated that the most reasonable interpretation would seem to be that they reflect cultural differentials.

Ekman, P.

Crosscultural Studies of Facial Expressions. In DARWIN AND FACIAL EXPRESSION. A CENTURY OF RESEARCH IN REVIEW. Ekman, P. (ed.). New York: Academic Press, 1973.

In this chapter, Ekman gives a thorough overview of past studies on facial expression followed by his personal interpretation of their results and a presentation of his own recent research projects. These last, he feels, prove once and for all the universality of human facial expression. This text has been chosen for our bibliography because it conveniently sums up Ekman's many experiments. The separate projects were conducted and their results published over a time-span of about six years.

Ekman describes three types of crosscultural research conducted by him and his team. In the first experiment, photographs of facial expressions were shown to students in five literate cultures: Japan, the United States, Brazil, Chile, and Argentina. These photographs were selected according to a unique criterion. They had to show the facial muscular movements that according to a newly developed theory (Ekman, Friesen, & Tomkins, 1971) are directly associated with each specific emotion. The six emotions represented were happiness, sadness, anger, fear, surprise, and disgust. Subjects were simply asked to match each photograph with one emotion. The results showed that there were no significant differences between cultures across all emotions, or in each emotion separately. Observers in four of the cultures (all but Japan) were then asked to rate each facial expression on a seven-point intensity scale. Again, no significant differences were found.

The second set of experiments focused on preliterature cultures. The same general procedure as before was used for subjects in Borneo and New Guinea. The results were similar but much weaker. Ekman and his team were convinced that defects in the judgment task were the

reason for this difference. To make sure of this, however, they repeated the experiment with the Fore in New Guinea. Instead of asking the subject to match one photograph with one emotion word, subjects were now asked to select one photograph out of three to fit a certain emotion story. There was high agreement between judgments made by subjects from literate cultures and those of the Fore children and adults, though the Fore did fail to distinguish fear from surprise. A further experiment was again conducted among the Fore (different subjects). This time they were read the emotion stories and then asked to encode the matching facial expression. These expressions were photographed and subsequently shown to American college students. The Americans had little trouble accurately judging the emotion intended, though the fear and surprise poses were again confusing.

The third type of study described by Ekman concerned possible differences between posed and spontaneous expressions. This study was described in Chapter II as a test-case for the theory of display rules, and will not be covered here. All in, Ekman's research is impressive and thorough. Though one may not agree with him that the universality of facial expressions is now a proven fact, to successfully argue the opposite to be true will be a difficult task, indeed.

Gardiner, Harry W.

The Use of Human Figure Drawing to Assess a Cultural Value: Smiling in Thailand. JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY, 1972, 80, 203-204.

The assumption made in this study, that children's drawings are a reflection of certain cultural values, is supported by an earlier study

conducted by Dennis (1966). Gardiner asked 1043 boys and girls from Thailand--popularly known as the "Land of Smiles"--to draw pictures of men and women. These pictures were evaluated by two judges (a native Thai and an American psychologist) as well as by the author for the presence or absence of smiling. The overall percentage of smiling-face drawings was 64 percent. This percentage is significantly higher than those found for children's drawings in Japan, Taiwan, Cambodia, for unorthodox Israeli's, Chiapas Indians, and children from Edinburgh and from Mexico City. If the above assumption can be accepted, this result suggests that smiling is a frequently seen behavior in the Thai and Ekman's theory of display rules may very well be applicable to this culture.

Graham, Jean A., Bitti, Pio R. & Argyle, M.

A Crosscultural Study of the Communication of Emotion by Facial and Gestural Cues. JOURNAL OF HUMAN MOVEMENT STUDIES, 1975, 1, 2, 68-77.

This study is particularly interesting in that it questions the relative importance of different channels of emotion expression and acknowledges both the dimensional and the typological approach. Graham and Argyle conducted two experiments using English, Northern Italian, and Southern Italian university students as subjects. Encoders from each culture role-played specific emotions (happy, sad, angry, fear/anxiety, surprise, interest, and disgust) as well as degrees of two dimensions of emotion (sleep-tension, pleasant-unpleasant). Rather than investigating cross-cultural trends, this study consisted of parallel experiments in each culture. Decoders from the same culture as the encoders identified

the emotions from video-tape recordings. This video material consisted of three types showing (a) face and body, (b) the face only, (c) the body only.

The results showed that for all cultural groups involved, the face alone was most expressive in conveying the seven separate emotions as well as the pleasant-unpleasant dimension. Intensity was conveyed by face and body alike. None of the emotions were conveyed best by face and body together. These data suggest that for neither the English nor the Italians, do body movements play a big part in the communication of emotions.

Green, J.

A GESTURE INVENTORY FOR THE TEACHING OF SPANISH. New York: Chilton Books, 1968.

This study provides a list of 98 gestures used on a daily basis in Spain. To increase the usefulness of this work for those dealing with Latin Americans, the complete inventory was tested before a panel of Latin American students. Gestures judged applicable to Latin American cultures were indicated as such.

The following methods were used in acquiring the data: (a) observation in public places of residents of Madrid involved in gainful employment or recreation, and of university students before, during and after their classes; (b) a search for descriptions of gestures in Spanish literature since the end of the Civil War (1939), and for stage directions in drama literature published since 1950 (incomplete references were completed with the help of four native informants); and (c) observations of gestures used on the stage were

made during regular theatre attendance.

The resulting descriptions are accompanied by drawings of each gesture and an account of the context in which it is used. Green ends his study with illustrations of how these gestures could be used in basic Spanish dialogue as it can be found in language textbooks.

Hamelian, L.

Communication by Gesture in the Middle East. ETC: A REVIEW OF GENERAL SEMANTICS, 1965, 22, 43-49.

During his stay in Syria as an English professor at the University of Damascus, Hamelian observed and recorded many gestures specific to the Middle Eastern cultures. His account is not based on scientific research but, nevertheless, gives the reader a feel for the function and form of NV behavior in this world region. He gives specific examples of his observations and, finally, comes to the following conclusions: (1) gestures in the Arab world are apparently confined to the hands--although an expert knows how to use all parts of the body to communicate; (2) the gestures are usually sex-linked - that is certain gestures are associated exclusively with men, others with women, also women seem to depend less on gesture than men do - ; (3) gesture is associated with the level of education - educated Arabs use gesture far less than uneducated Arabs; (4) gestures appear to be associated with expression of these main emotions: friendly feelings, hostile feelings, and erotic feelings. Overall, NV behavior plays an important role in the Arab world, especially as a means of expressing feelings that cannot be captured in words.

Hewes, G.W.

World Distribution of Certain Postural Habits. AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 1955, 57, 231-244.

Though human postural habits are limited by anatomical factors, according to Hewes the number of body attitudes that can be maintained steadily might be on the order of 1000. The reason why people choose certain postures over others, then, are mainly cultural. As possible determinants Hewes mentions: sex, nutrition, taboo around genital exposure, clothing customs, furniture, architecture, type of terrain when outdoors, and infant carrying customs. For this study Hewes researched photographic and some descriptive material from a great variety of sources, which yielded posture information from 480 different cultural regions. Because women are discouraged to be photographed in many cultures these pictures mainly represent males. Hewes developed a typology sheet of 100 sketches, along with 13 world distribution maps. Part of this material is reproduced in the article. An interesting discovery made during the research process was that most standing positions seem to be universal, though many variations could be found in sitting, squatting, and kneeling postures. Hewes ends his article with a detailed description of eight postures and their distribution across cultural regions.

Izard, C.E.

THE FACE OF EMOTION. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971.

Searching to provide evidence for the universalist view of facial expression of emotion, Izard conducted emotion recognition research

with subjects from the United States, England, Germany, Sweden, France, Switzerland, Greece, Africa, and Japan. Thirty-two pictures were chosen of facial expressions of adult males and females representing the eight emotion categories earlier defined by Tomkins (1962, see chapter one). A modified series, containing pictures for separate categories of disgust and contempt, was administered to American, Turkish, Indian, and Japanese students. The subjects were given some time to study the list of emotion categories and were then asked to place each picture in one category.

The result was an accuracy of recognition across all cultures of 78 percent, whereas 12 percent agreement would be expected by chance. A significantly lower percentage of agreement was found, though, for the African and Japanese groups than for the other cultures. The extended experiment, including Turks and Indians, also yielded high agreement. Particularly interesting was the finding that 20-40 percent more agreement could be found among all cultural groups on the recognition of facial expressions depicting "joy-enjoyment" than on those depicting "distress-anguish." This study has been criticized for limiting itself to literate cultures whose members may have acquired common expressions as a result of continued exposure to mass media. In this respect, Ekman's study mentioned earlier may be regarded as complementing the data.

Jakobson, Roman

Motor Signs For 'Yes' and 'No'. LANGUAGE IN SOCIETY, 1, 91-96.

Jakobson describes three different sets of European head motions

signalling 'yes' and 'no.' The first set is the one used by most Western European peoples. Affirmation is signalled by an up-and-down motion, negation by a sideward turning of the head. A second set of signs is the Bulgarian system, which also appears among a few ethnic groups in the Balkan Peninsula and in the Near East. Affirmation is signalled here by a sideways turn similar to our 'no' while negation takes the form of a throwing back of the head easily confused with our sign for 'yes.' In certain parts of the Mediterranean area, the head is bent forward for affirmation and backward for negation, accompanied by movements of the eyes and brows to indicate the difference.

Jakobson argues that even though there are differences this does not mean that the signals discussed are a result of pure arbitrary convention. He proceeds to analyse the three systems in order to reveal their underlying iconicity.

Johnson, H.G., Ekman, P. & Friesen, W.V.

Communicative Body Movements: American Emblems. SEMIOTICA. 1975, 15 (4), 335-353.

To ensure high validity in this investigation into American emblems, the researchers used both encoders and decoders. Because age, sex, ethnic background, and social class could be expected to be determinants of emblem use, the 15 encoders and 53 decoders were all white, middle class, college educated, third generation Americans between the age of 21 and 35 living in an urban setting. The method used was threefold. First, the encoders were presented with a list of 220 messages based on material from earlier studies. After careful instruction as to what

emblems exactly are, they were asked to act out those messages that they thought had corresponding emblems. Second, these performances were compared and 138 were selected that showed at least 70 percent agreement among the informants. Third, a group of 53 decoders were shown each action, which they translated back into a verbal message and rated on either everyday use or use only in games and pantomimes. In addition, they were asked to give ratings of the certainty of their answers.

This careful procedure generated four lists of American emblems ranging from verified (67 items) to ambiguous. The article shows the full four lists of messages and their ratings but no sketches, descriptions, or photographs of the emblems themselves are provided.

Kilbridge, Janet E. & Yarczower, Matthew

Recognition of Happy and Sad Facial Expressions Among Baganda and U.S. Children. JOURNAL OF CROSSCULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY, 1976, 7, 2, 181-183.

The crcsscultural research conducted compared emotion recognition of Americans with that of the Baganda, the largest tribe (over one million) in Uganda. The American subjects were all caucasian, nine girls and 12 boys of six to seven years old. The Baganda group consisted of 85 school-going boys and girls in the seven to 15 age group, 15 male and female college students, and 18 minimally educated Baganda between the ages of 18 and 77. Each subject was asked to identify happy and sad expressions from a series of five stylized drawings. The first drawing showed two facial expressions: happy

and sad. In drawing number two, a neutral face was added, and in number three the face as well as the body was shown (with one figure wearing a red dress). In pictures four and five, ambiguous expressions were created by combining an open mouth showing teeth with "sad" eyes, and adding tears to an otherwise happy face.

The results of this study showed crosscultural agreement between American children and Baganda children and adults on the recognition of happy and sad expressions. However, the happy expression was more easily identified than the sad one. This particular finding coincides with those of Izard mentioned above. The added features, however,--red dress, teeth, and tears--uncovered some cultural differences. The addition of the red dress produced no changes in the opinion of the American first graders, but their Baganda counterparts chose this figure as the happiest, even though the face alone had earlier been recognized as sad. A red dress may be a sign of higher socio-economic status (which may be connected with happiness) in a less affluent society like that of Uganda. Also, the Baganda attach much significance to both the color red and to dress and appearance. Similarly, the teeth made no difference to the American group, but the Baganda children chose this face as showing the happiest expression. A very plausible suggestion here may be the fact that American children are thoroughly familiar with stylized happy faces with a closed upturned mouth. In fact, this design appears everywhere from advertisements to coffee cups to cheap wallpaper. The third addition, that of tears in an otherwise happy face confused both groups equally. This expression-blend was judged by most as representing sadness. A

further analysis of the Baganda results showed similarity between the youngest and the oldest Baganda as opposed to the middle group. This finding may be a function of relative amount of classroom experience of each population.

Klineberg, O.

Emotional Expression in Chinese Literature. JOURNAL OF ABNORMAL AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, 1938, 33, 517-520.

Klineberg used a relatively rare approach to the investigation of NV behavior in studying the descriptions of emotion expression in Chinese literature. He warns that caution must be exercised in inferring expression in real life from literary expression, but also states that the articulateness of Chinese civilization makes the use of this method for this particular culture more appropriate. A significant feature of Chinese NV behavior appears to be its regulation in terms of quantity, and quite a few admonitions can be found not to show emotion too readily. An exception to this rule is the emotion of grief which is explicitly expressed, though governed by an elaborate set of rules.

Klineberg mentions similarities as well as differences with Western NV behavior. A striking difference can be found in the expression of anger, which often involves smiling and laughing. Most similarities are found in the expression of fear, though there are also examples of recognizable expression of sorrow and shame.

La Barre, W.

The Cultural Basis of Emotions and Gestures. JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY, 1947, 16, 49-68.

La Barre starts out criticizing those theorists who believe too easily in innate gestures without having done enough crosscultural research to back them up. In order to "prove" the cultural relativist viewpoint, La Barre offers a torrent of examples of differences in cultures all over the world. His descriptions show different gestures for similar messages as well as similar gestures representing different meanings. The descriptions cover differences in form and/or meaning of head nods, pointing, crying, laughing and smiling, greeting, hissing, talking, and even walking. Interesting is his remark that with some gestures it is hard to segregate the physiologically conditioned response and the purely cultural one. However, the examples illustrating this phenomenon again feature culturally determined gestures. La Barre presents a wealth of material, covering a broad range of NV behaviors, but he makes no attempt to distinguish between different types of NV acts.

Morris, D., Collett, P., Marsh, P. & O'Shaughnessy, M.

GESTURES, THEIR ORIGIN AND DISTRIBUTION. New York: Stein and Day, 1979.

This European gesture dictionary is the result of an extensive study that originated in Oxford and took three years to complete. The authors compiled a list of gestures used in different regions of Western Europe by conducting preliminary interviews with foreign European students at Oxford. From this list they selected 20

symbolic (i.e. emblematic) gestures that (1) would be difficult to interpret merely from their form (to eliminate guesswork), (b) would be well known in one region of the study area and comparatively unknown elsewhere, and (c) would cover a wide variety of meanings. Pictures and descriptions of these 20 gestures were then presented to a total of 1200 male informants in 40 locations covering 25 Western European countries. These data were supplemented by material from field observations.

The resulting dictionary provides pictures and descriptions of each gesture and a small map of Europe indicating where this gesture is relatively common, relatively rare, or absent. In their conclusions, the authors comment on the apparent importance of distinguishing form and meaning of gestures. Many gestures similar in form and used across regions convey different and even opposed messages in different areas. Also, the area where the gesture is used often crosses linguistic and national boundaries. This finding contradicts the popular belief in specific "national gestures."

Phillott, D.C.

A Note on Sign-, Gesture-, Code-, and Secret Language etc. Amongst the Persians. JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS OF ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL (n.s.), 3, 9, 619-622.

This article by Phillott is the oldest item included in this bibliography. It mentions the different means used by Persians to disguise their verbal (written and spoken) messages, or to convey messages by using symbolic objects. In addition, a list of gestures is given that are used by the Persians (at least in Phillott's time) in every -

day life. For the following nine messages the verbal translation is given as well as their several NV encodings: silence, come here, no, yes, astonishment, halt, go out, he's cracked, and nonsense. This article may be an interesting source for scientists who want to investigate if and how gestures change over time.

Saitz, R. & Cervanka, E.

HANDBOOK OF GESTURES: COLOMBIA AND THE UNITED STATES. Approaches to Semiotics 31. The Haghue: Mouton, 1972.

On the basis of both personal observation and interviews with four native informants (2 male and 2 female) a list of Colombian gestures was compiled. During the same period interviews were conducted with 20 informants from different regions in the United States. The authors limited their listing to gestures which seemed discrete and easily recognizable, and could be used both as an accompaniment to and independent from language. The term gesture was defined to include movements of all body parts as well as general body postures.

The resulting list combines gestures from both countries. Each gesture is accompanied by a description, a simple illustration and, where helpful, by phrases in which the gesture might be expected to occur. There are three categories of gestures: those purely Colombian or American, those used in both countries, and those movements that have different meanings but are similar in form. The majority of the gestures contained in this book are intentional, all of them are learned.

Shimoda, Kimiko, Argyle, Michael & Bitti, Pio R.

The Intercultural Recognition of Emotion Expressions by Three National-Racial Groups: English, Italian, and Japanese. EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, 1978, 8 (2), 169-179.

Subjects from England, Italy, and Japan were tested on their ability to recognize emotion expression from video-tape recordings. This study was different than most others in that it used encoders from all three cultures involved. The expressions encoded included eight emotional states--surprised, depressed, sad, disgusted, happy, angry, and anxious--and four interpersonal attitudes--superior, submissive, friendly, and hostile.

It was hypothesized that members of each group would be able to recognize emotions expressed by members of the other cultures at above-chance accuracy. This was not always true. Recognition by Italians of Japanese expressions was below this level, while the English subjects reached a score only just above chance. The Japanese subjects were no different from the English and Italians in recognition ability, but their accuracy of expression was lower for all expressions except happy and friendly. This particular finding may be a result of what Ekman calls display rules. Another difference was that the Japanese distinguished more clearly between sad and depressed than the other groups, though they failed to differentiate between happy and friendly or between angry and hostile expressions. Overall, the results supported the view that there are universal patterns of facial expression.

Triandis, H.C. & Lambert, W.W.

A Restatement and Test of Schlosberg's Theory of Emotion with Two Kinds of Subjects from Greece. JOURNAL OF ABNORMAL AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, 1958, 56, 321-328.

A study using American subjects by T. Engen, N. Levy and H. Schlosberg is repeated by Triandis and Lambert using two groups of subjects from Greece. The goal of the study is to test Schlosberg's dimensional theory of emotion (1944, 1954), and to compare results of this study with those for American subjects. Schlosberg's theory reduces the dimensions required to judge emotion expressions to three: pleasant-unpleasant, attention-rejection, and tension-sleep. Fifteen subjects from Athens and 15 from Sfakera, a small village on the island of Corfu, were presented with 48 photographs showing facial expressions. They were asked to judge these pictures as to their position on three nine-point scales representing the three emotion dimensions.

There were important differences between the two groups in terms of education and exposure to movies (a possible source of stereotyped emotion expressions). Still, the results showed that Greeks from both backgrounds rate emotion expression in much the same way as Americans. Further conclusions were made regarding the reliability of Schlosberg's dimensions as opposed to the six emotion categories postulated by another theorist on emotion (Woodworth, 1954). The data of the American group were closer to those of the Athens Greeks than to those of the Sfakera Greeks, and here the education and movie-attendance factors may have been at play. Varying explanations were suggested to account for the small inter-group

differences. All these were based on the influences of differences in cultural customs.

Wylie, L. & Stafford, R.

BEAUX GESTES. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Undergraduate Press, 1977.

This guide to French gestures is similar to that provided by Alsop (see elsewhere in this chapter), though it is much more extensive. Wylie learned many of the gestures in this book from young French actors at the Jacques Lecoq School for Mime - Mouvement - Theatre in Paris, where he spent two years studying cultural differences in NV communication. As has been noted by others, gestures are used less frequently in France by women and by the more educated. An obvious difference between Americans and Frenchmen can be found in their respective styles of walking. Swinging his arms, bouncing and rolling his pelvis, the American can be recognized immediately in France. Americans also tend to hold their arms still in conversation and to move their head and torso in rhythm with their words. As for the French, Wylie presents a series of photographs and descriptions of gestures, ordered according to their various functions in regulating the Frenchman's life. Readers must be warned that gestures were selected that seemed specifically unusual or amusing.

PROXEMICS

Collett, P.

Training Englishmen in the Non-Verbal Behavior of Arabs: An Experiment on Intercultural Communication. INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY, 1971, 6, 3, 209-215.

In this study, the effects were investigated of differences in NV behavior between Englishmen and Arabs. Two experiments were conducted, one involving ten Arabs who each had two meetings with different Englishmen. They discussed a given topic with the Englishmen and were then asked to state which meeting they had liked best and why. One of the English groups had received a briefing regarding Arab NV behavior, based on data from a study by Watson and Graves (1966), a review of the literature on Arab behavior and material provided by Arab informants. The briefing covered such NV behavior as greeting and other gestures, interaction distance, orientation, amount of eye contact, smiling and touching. Members of the English control group had not been given any such pertinent information. The results of this experiment showed a marked preference of the Arab for those Englishmen who displayed Arab NV behavior over those who continued to behave like Englishmen in their presence.

The second experiment was designed to be a check-up of the format of the first. It was similar to the Arab experiment, but involved only Englishmen. It was hypothesized that Englishmen would prefer to interact with compatriots who displayed English as opposed to Arab NV behavior. This hypothesis was not confirmed, possibly suggesting that the briefing had involved not exclusively Arab NV behavior, but rather behaviors accepted in both cultures.

Engebretson, D. & Fullmer, D.

Crosscultural Differences in Territoriality: Interaction Distances of Native Japanese, Hawaii Japanese, and American Caucasians. JOURNAL OF CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY, 1970, 1, 3, 261-269.

Three cultural groups were compared on the proxemic variable of interaction distance. Relationship, sex, and conversational content were also investigated for their possible influences on interaction distance. The subjects were 56 Native Japanese, 50 Hawaii Japanese, and 49 American Caucasians. All groups consisted of both males and females. Each subject was asked to imagine six interaction situations representing different relationships: father with male student, father with female student, male professor with male student, male professor with female student, male student with male friend, and female student with female friend. Provided with paper silhouettes of interactants each subject placed these figures face-to-face on a white background. In order to measure the influence of conversational content, two conversation topics were used: academic progress of the student subject and discussion of a current event.

The results showed that culture was a significant determinant of interaction distance. Native Japanese assigned greater distances to interactants than both Hawaii Japanese and American Caucasians. The fact that these two latter groups showed no significant differences suggests a measure of acculturation of the Hawaii Japanese group. Within-group differences by sex were non-significant for all groups. The most powerful determinant of interaction distance for all groups was relationship of the interactants. Conversational content turned out not to be significant. However, this last result may well have

been a function of the very limited range of conversational topics provided.

Firth, R.

Postures and Gestures of Respect. In ECHANGES ET COMMUNICATIONS. J. Pouillon and P. Marande (eds.). The Haghue: Mouton, 1970.

Firth describes some aspects of proxemity and kinesics in the society of the Tikopai Islanders, especially those expressing respect and affection. Movement in space for the Tikopai can be significant on three dimensions: proxemity, precedence, and orientation. Proxemity implies equality in status, and respect for superiors is therefore expressed by keeping at a distance. Precedence means that the front and back side of a person can be used as an indicator of relative status. The body of the person showing respect is always turned toward the superior. Orientation generally involves a combination of proxemity and precedence, but it may also apply in conditions where the superior is not actually present. Next to these horizontal movements, the vertical position in space is very important. Physically occupying a higher position than one's superior is an expression of extreme disrespect.

The Tikopai use various bodily points as status indices in gesture. These are the nose, the wrists, the knees and the feet. Pressing the nose to a part of another's body is the prime gesture of emotional expression among the Tikopai (as it is among the Maori). Increasing degrees of respect are expressed by pressing the nose to the other's face (more a sign of affection than respect), to the wrist,

the knee, and though this happens very rarely, to the foot. Again, the idea of lowering oneself before a superior is represented here.

Firth proceeds to compare these expressions with body movement in British society. He does not find many equivalents outside of bowing and kneeling to superiors as was done in past centuries. Apart from the obvious fact that such behavior goes against the egalitarian trend in modern social relations, Firth's theory is that in a more sophisticated society the idea of self rather than the physical self is lowered. In other words, nonverbal expression becomes verbal. Surprisingly, Firth does find some expressions of respect that are linearly opposed to those of the Tikopai. Rising when an important person enters the room or offering a seat to a lady in the bus suggests that relaxation of bodily tension is a significant social factor in British society.

Forston, R.F. & Larson, C.U.

The Dynamics of Space: An Experimental Study of Proxemic Behavior Among Latin Americans and North Americans. JOURNAL OF COMMUNICATION, 1968, 18, 109-116.

Forston and Larson designed this experiment in order to test the popular notion--supported by Hall--that South Americans tend to choose smaller interaction distances than do North Americans. The following hypotheses were tested: (1) Latin Americans (LA) will prefer different seating positions than North Americans (NA), (2) LA will interact with less space between them than NA, (3) NA will prefer an interaction distance of more than five-and-a-half feet in a medium-sized room (12' by 24'), and (4) LA will touch one another more often during conversation

than will NA. The 32 subjects were matched with persons of their own cultural group and were asked to try to solve a problem concerning the Middle East crisis within five minutes. They chose their own seating arrangements (from chairs stacked against a wall) and their proxemic behavior was noted and photographed.

The results were rather surprising. The NA tended to sit farther apart than the LA, although the actual differences were not significant. All dyads chose one of two seating positions, face-to-face with shoulders parallel or face-to-face with the shoulders at a 45° angle, but differences were again not significant. The fourth hypothesis, concerning touching behavior, did not receive support. Only one dyad shook hands, and they were NA. The researchers suggest several reasons for these unexpected results. One may be the fact that these data were obtained from seating arrangements only. The LA subjects seemed to stand closer than the NA before and after the experiment. Some other weak points in the study may have been the relatively small sample, and the 'performance' atmosphere of the experiment situation as suggested by the heavy topic of discussion and by the fact that the subjects were constantly overtly observed, taped and photographed.

Hall, E.T.

THE HIDDEN DIMENSION. New York: Doubleday, 1969.

This book has been mentioned earlier as the standard work on proxemics. It gives a detailed and sensitive record of how space is experienced and organized in the worlds of both animals and man. This abstract will concentrate on Chapters IX through XII which focus on the

anthropology of space.

In the first two of these chapters Hall describes three ways in which space molds our behavior. Fixed feature space is the organization of space we grow up with and which our inner feeling of orientation depends on. It dictates which human activities take place where and how (an example is the designation of rooms as dining room, bedroom, etc. in our Western culture). Semi fixed feature space extends this orientation function of space to movable objects. Both these concepts go further than just their material manifestations. They become internalized and problems emerge when they are suddenly changed (as in crosscultural situations). Informal space includes the distances maintained in encounters with others, and it is the category most frequently addressed in proxemic studies. Hall divides it into four interaction distances: intimate, personal, social and public. Having introduced this framework for the study of anthropological proxemics, Hall now turns to the organization of space in five different countries: Germany, England, France, Japan, and the Arab world.

The Germans are described as even more distant than the Americans. The personal territory of the German is larger and intrusion is more sharply felt (consider the concept of "Lebensraum"). An example is the habit of using doors to close off spaces. In offices and in the home doors are normally closed to maintain order, concentration and privacy. In a similar vein, furniture is not supposed to be adjusted by visitors as this is so easily done in America.

The American way of conveying status through space (addresses are important clues to social class and importance) is not known in

England. Matters of class are already dictated by tradition and family history. Privacy is also secured differently in England. The American is as a matter of course constantly available to his fellow man unless he withdraws to his private space and closes the door behind him. An Englishman is not necessarily available when in the presence of others. Signalling his need for aloneness by being silent, Americans often take this as rejection or as being given "the silent treatment". Other differences are those in voice level of Americans and Englishmen. Travelling Americans are recognized by the loudness of their conversation. To be overhead in England signals an intrusion on the privacy of others. In direct conversation steady eye contact as a constant sign of attention is expected. The American's low eye contact pattern may be taken as unattentive or rude.

One feature of the Frenchman's use of space is the significantly smaller distance used in interaction. The French love the life of the senses and close interaction is just one example of their high sensual involvement. Another is their intensive use of open spaces as occasions for enjoyment. The crowded boulevards and outdoor cafes are incomparable to the awesome empty squares and avenues of the American city.

Though the three cultures discussed have divergent proxemic patterns, they appear very similar when compared to the Middle and Far East. Most baffling is the Japanese custom of emphasizing points in space instead of lines, e.g. in naming intersections instead of streets. In addition, high significance is given to the "empty space" between things, as is conceptualized in the word "ma" ($\pm$ interval) and illustrated with the uniqueness and beauty of Japanese art. As with the French,

the senses are essential to the Japanese and so are feelings. Logic comes last, and Americans often get frustrated by the "indirection" of the Japanese, the not "getting to the point" in conversation.

Finally, Hall discusses the Arab's use of space which is characterized by sometimes hard to grasp distinctions. In public space the Arab behaves in ways insulting to Americans. There are no hidden rules against crowding, touching, "intruding". In his own home, however, the Arab likes to have a lot of unobstructed and undivided space, an environment an American feels quite lost in. A further distinction is made between behavior in public space and that in "moving space". For someone else to move into a space an Arab is also moving into is an insult, and American behavior in traffic is often taken that way. Again, we find the high sensual involvement in social interaction. The Arab likes to stand so close he can smell the other and feel the moisture of his breath. Needless to say, without eye contact there is no interaction.

Many other interesting points are brought up by Hall which cannot be discussed here. This book is insightful, well-written and contains most useful information on the five cultures mentioned above.

Kim, Ki-Hong

Misunderstanding in Nonverbal Communication: America and Korea. PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS, 1977, 10, 1-2 & 1-22.

This is one of the few articles on cultural differences in NV communication that have been written from a non-Western perspective. Kim addresses various differences in the customs, thought, and manners of

Korea and America. This material is subsumed under four headings that each present a variety of information. All four parts will be reviewed since they all contain information regarding our topic.

What Kim calls expressions of thought differ in Koreans and Americans. The Korean is seen as non-expressive which is a result of the Confusian value of hiding one's feelings. For lack of information from direct expression--verbal or NV--he develops "nunchi," a sort of special sense to interpret the other's disposition while carefully avoiding the slightest impoliteness (this concept is evidently hard to grasp for a Westerner, despite Kim's explanation). The Korean expresses himself more subtly and indirect. He thinks from the general to the specific and solves problems on the basis of emotions rather than reason. Equality in personal relationships is not a value in Korean culture. Relationships are vertical, hierarchical, and males and seniors dominate females and the young. As examples of Korean manners, Kim cites the custom of repeatedly refusing invitations before finally accepting. Koreans love drinking, but to American eyes appear solemn and quiet when having a meal. Making noises (chewing, sucking, smacking, belching), however, is perfectly acceptable. All objects are handed to others with the left hand supporting the right. Failure to do so is taken as an insult. Kim addresses cultural differences regarding privacy, gifts, and gestures. Privacy is not a value in Korea, it cannot even be translated into the Korean language. Accordingly, bodily contact is not avoided in this country as it is in the United States. Gifts are given by subordinates to superiors and should not be opened in the presence of the giver. Finally, examples

of gestures are described that illustrate how Korean and American NV behavior often have the same form but may convey completely different meanings.

Little, K.B.

Cultural Variations in Social Schemata. JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, 1968, 10, 1-7.

Interaction distances were investigated for five cultural groups: Americans, Greeks, Southern Italians, Swedes, and Scots. Each group consisted of 70 to 100 students, both males and females. The subjects were presented with 19 interaction situations featuring nine items combining variations in acquaintanceship and affective tone, six items on superior-subordinate relationships and four items representing intimate vs. consultative interactions. The students were given two dolls--male dolls for the males, female dolls for the females--and were asked to place these on a piece of paper in such a way that they looked natural for each situation described.

The results of the study showed considerable similarity among the five cultures in the ordering of distances for the situations. However, there were marked differences across cultures in actual distances assigned. Both Mediterranean groups used smaller distances than the Northern European groups. This finding confirms the notion of these societies being contact and non-contact oriented respectively. Surprising was the finding that American interaction distances were closer to those of the Italians than to those of the Northern Europeans.

Shuter, R.

A Field Study of Non-verbal Communication in Germany, Italy, and the United States. COMMUNICATION MONOGRAPHS, 44, 4, 298-305.

Shuter's study of NV communication in Germany, Italy, and the United States concentrates specifically on three aspects: interaction distance, axis (orientation toward or away from eachother), and touching behavior. Former proxemic research in these cultures has been mostly qualitative and has resulted in the commonly accepted belief that Italians form a contact oriented society, as opposed to Germans and Americans. Shuter not only examines this belief but also introduces a new variable: sex of the interactants. Observations were made of male/male, male/female and female/female interaction pairs in Venice Mastre, Italy, Heidelberg, Germany and Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Shuter's main conclusion is that the cultures examined are so culturally diverse that they cannot be classified as either contact or noncontact oriented. In fact, the results of the study suggest that sex of the interactants may be a more significant factor than culture.

Watson, D.M. & Graves, T.D.

Quantitative Research in Proxemic Behavior. AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 1966, 68, 971-985.

Watson and Graves' study on proxemics was based on Hall's work in this area of NV behavior (1955, 1959, 1963). Hall provided both theoretical and anecdotal material on proxemics but did not present any empirical data. This investigation of American and Arab NV behavior was designed to make up for that lack. It was hypothesized that Arab and American

proxemic behavior would be significantly different, and that these differences would be greater than those between American regional subgroups and Arab regional subgroups. The subjects consisted of 16 Arabs--four each from Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, and Kuwait--and 16 Americans--four each from New York/New Jersey, Colorado, California, and the Midwest. While the subjects conversed for a time-span of five minutes, observations were made in five of Hall's eight categories of proxemic behavior (see Chapter One for more detail): the sociofugal-sociopetal axis, kinesthetic factors, touch code, visual code, and the voice-loudness scale.

The results showed that the Arab subjects confronted each other more directly than the Americans, moved closer together, were more apt to touch while talking, looked each other more directly in the eye, and conversed in louder tones. There was marked homogeneity within the Arab and American subgroups. All of these results are consistent with Hall's earlier findings.

PARALANGUAGE

Beier, Ernst G. & Zautra, Alexander, J.

Identification of Vocal Communication of Emotions Across Cultures. JOURNAL OF CONSULTING AND CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY, 1972, 39 (1), 166.

This study was conducted to investigate the degree to which emotive messages convey information across cultures. Six emotions were expressed and audio taped: happy, fear, sad, anger, indifference, and flirt. The expressions were of four different lengths, ranging from one word to a sentence and had previously been judged by Americans as conveying the intended emotion. The subjects consisted of 52 Americans, 55 Polish students, and 54 Japanese. The last two groups were tested in their home country and were not acquainted with the English language.

Results showed a 53 percent agreement among Polish subjects and a 57 percent agreement among the Japanese. Agreement with American ratings was 53 percent for the Polish and 48 percent for the Japanese subjects, indicating that emotive messages can indeed be transmitted crossculturally on the NV vocal channel. More detailed analysis of the results revealed that accuracy was higher for the foreign groups when the message was longer. In addition, for each group, some emotions seemed more easily recognizable than others. Where the Americans recognized with decreasing accuracy happy, anger, flirt, indifference, fear, sad; the order for the Polish subjects read angry, indifference, fear, sad, happy, flirt; and for the Japanese it was sad, indifference, anger, fear, happy, flirt. The fact that the more positive emotions were least recognized by both foreign groups poses interesting questions as to the possible cultural influences at play here.

Creider, Chet A.

Intonation, Tone Groups, and Body Motion in Luo Conversation. ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS, 1978, 20, 7, 327-339.

Luo is an African language spoken by several million people living along the eastern shores of Lake Victoria in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania. Creider's analysis of Luo is quite technical and evidently directed toward a linguistic audience. In this article, however, he stresses the importance of NV factors that accompany language such as context, intonation, and body movement.

The article consists of four parts, the first three of which are mainly concerned with the particular pattern of word stress, emphasis, tone groups, and tone and intonation in Luo conversation. Polysyllabic words in Luo usually have one stressed syllable. This stress is different from that used for emphasis. Tone groups can be distinguished as a unit of language between words and sentences. In a thoroughly analyzed conversation, the tone groups averaged four to eight words each. Tone groups are recognizable by stress on the final item, pitch pattern changes, and a short pause following each group.

In the fourth part of the article, two types of body movement are described that accompany speech, gaze direction (toward or away from the listener) and the raising or lowering of body parts. Creider refers here to Efron's distinction between batons and ideographic movements on the one hand and gestures with objective content on the other (see Chapter One). In Luo conversation baton movements abound, especially as associated with tone groups. Movements with objective content also occur frequently. The ideographic type, however, is rare

or absent. Creider warns against accepting this pattern as universal, because recent research has shown that the baton movement is almost entirely absent in other languages, such as Eskimo.

Hall, Edward T.

The Anthropology of Manners. SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, 1954, 192, 85-89.

In this article, Hall presents his audience for the first time with his thoughts on NV behavior. He stresses the importance of "knowing the manners" of a foreign people when communicating crossculturally. Extensive examples are given for many nationalities in all three categories of NV behavior: kinesics, proxemics, and paralinguistics. In addition, he focuses on cultural differences in the use of time and in the habit of calling people by name. For a theoretical framework as well as additional examples in several of the above categories the reader is referred to Hall's later work.

Hall, E.T. & Whyte, W.F.

Intercultural Communication: A Guide to Men of Action. HUMAN ORGANIZATION, 1960, 19, 5-20.

This article is purely practical in its approach and is written for the growing population of American business people confronted with cross-cultural situations. Varying sources of miscommunication between people with varying cultural backgrounds are reviewed. Next to the influence of cultural rules, customs, and values, Hall discusses the following NV categories: paralanguage and kinesics, touching, use of time, significance of place, and use of space. All of these categories

are illustrated with useful examples.

A significant difference between American and Arab paralanguage is the loudness of the voice. Loudness connotes sincerity and strength in the Arab world, but can easily be interpreted as a sign of aggression by Americans. Of course the reverse is true, the American voice level may convey weakness or deviousness to the Arab. Status differences in the Arab culture influence loudness,and respect for superiors is signalled by lowering the voice.

Differences in kinesics are illustrated with the contrast between Anglo-Saxon stiff-upper-lip behavior and uninhibited emotion expression in the Middle East. For a grown man to weep or shout or otherwise "fail" to control his emotions is a normal sight for the Arab but still seen as a loss of face in our culture.

On the subject of proxemics, Hall uses the example of the Latin Americans' use of space. The North American's normal interaction distance is significantly greater than that of the Latin American. During crosscultural interaction the North American may feel threatened, while the Latin American feels treated with distance and coldness. Most of the above described behaviors occur without the interactants being aware of them and are therefore prime sources of crosscultural miscommunication.

Kirch, M.

Nonverbal Communication Across Cultures. MODERN LANGUAGE JOURNAL, 1979, 63, 8, 416-423.

This article was written to convey the significance of knowledge of NV communication in learning a foreign language. It aims to compare

and contrast American NV communication with that of several Western European cultures. A brief overview is given of different categories of NV communication, but the usefulness of this article lies mostly in its abundance of examples.

Particularly interesting is Kirch's description of the variants in use of space by the Americans, French, and Germans. He describes French culture as characterized by centralization. The streets of the cities radiate out from the center like the spokes of a wheel. This pattern is also found in France's centralized educational system and in the French business enterprise where the boss' desk is in the middle of the room surrounded by those of his immediate subordinates. Of course, the Frenchman's use of public space as a place to socialize (e.g. sidewalk cafe's) is in sharp contrast to that by Americans. In personal interaction, the French face each other directly, stand close and touch frequently and they often feel they are treated with indifference by Americans who do not show these behaviors. The Germans, Kirch says, are even more aloof than the Americans. Privacy and property are sacred. At home and in the office doors are kept closed.

Other aspects of NV communication described and illustrated by Kirch are: gestures and kinesics (considered separate categories), chronemics (use of time) and paralanguage.

Morsbach, H.

Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in Japan. JOURNAL OF NERVOUS AND MENTAL DISEASE, 1973, 157, 262-277.

This interesting article starts out with a review of possible historical and social reasons for the importance of NV behavior in Japan. Japan's

racial and cultural homogeneity—due to prolonged isolation—could be one reason. Zen-buddhism with its de-emphasis on verbalization, and the Tokugawa period (1603-1867) with its highly prescribed behavior may have been additional influences. As social factors are mentioned the importance of social rank, the close physical mother-child relationship and the intragroup solidarity of the Japanese. Fact is that NV communication in Japan is in many cases quite different, both qualitatively and quantitatively, from that of Western cultures.

Morsbach gives exclusive examples of NV behavior in all of our categories: kinesics, proxemics and paralanguage. Many Japanese gestures are designed to allow ideas to be transmitted which would be offensive when verbalized. Some of these are obvious to the Westerner, while others are completely different, and a third group—a frequent source of confusion—shares form but not meaning with Western gestures. The mention of the smile to hide displeasure touches upon but makes not explicit Ekman's notion of display rules. Emotions can be masked with other emotions or with complete neutrality. The expressionless face, as a sign of self-control, is thought of very highly in Japan.

Japanese paralanguage follows the pattern of the Japanese language in prescribing different formats depending on (a) whether one talks to a superior, to an inferior, or to an equal and (b) whether one talks about a superior, about an inferior, or about an equal. Another Japanese phenomenon is the use of words, mostly by females, as a kind of "polite patter," which is practically without content and can therefore be classified as a borderline case of paralanguage. A well known sublinguistic utterance is of course the frequent hissing denoting

deference, but also used as a means of gaining time (the "er..." in English). Lastly, the Japanese makes much more use of silences in his interaction with others.

The use of space in Japan is significantly different from that of Western cultures. In the Japanese room, the edges are kept clear because everything takes place in the middle. The Japanese family lives very close together, as the habit of sleeping together illustrates. Up to the age of ten, the youngest child sleeps with the mother, the one but youngest with the father, and physical privacy (probably as opposed to mental privacy) seems of little importance. On the other hand, behavior between people in a public setting is very distant and impersonal. Being inside or outside the familiar group dictates radically different interaction behavior. This is a fascinating and valuable article for any psychotherapist who expects to be dealing with Japanese clients.

In this chapter, 41 books and articles have been reviewed containing information on kinesic, proxemic, and paralinguistic patterns in more than 35 world regions.

The next chapter will discuss the conclusions that can be drawn from this variety of material and present suggestions for continued research.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Summary and Concluding Remarks

This thesis has presented an overview of current thought on nonverbal human behavior and its variations in different cultures. This field is still relatively undefined as no science as yet has taken it under its wing. Linguists, anthropologists, psychologists and physiologists have differing scientific approaches and goals, and the resulting body of research does not form a consistent whole. The present study was designed to organize the available material with one interest group in mind, psychotherapists dealing with foreign clients.

NV behavior has always been a valuable source of information for therapists, especially when concerning the client's emotional state. It can easily become a source of misunderstanding, though, when the therapist reacts subconsciously to the NV signals. Such faulty interpretations are more likely when different cultures are involved. In order to turn a source of misunderstanding into a valuable therapeutic tool more awareness is needed of NV communication and how it is influenced by culture. It is hoped that the present study will help therapists build such awareness, in providing them with a personal research guide.

Chapter I and II of this study provided a cognitive framework for the bibliography presented in Chapter III. Prevalent theories on

emotion and NV behavior were reviewed in the first chapter, while the second focused in on the cultural perspective. It was found that crosscultural research started over a century ago with Darwin's work on "emotion expression" (a term later replaced by "NV behavior"). Throughout the years two factions developed among the scientists dealing with this topic. There were those who felt that emotion expression was innate and universal, and those who believed in its cultural relativity. Chapter II followed these trends into modern times and discussed their influence on contemporary research.

An annotated bibliography was presented in Chapter III, reviewing material on kinesic, proxemic, and paralinguistic patterns in various cultures. Though Western Europe, Japan and the Arab world were frequently selected research sites, more than 35 cultural regions were addressed all in.

With the exception of studies on facial expression, most of the research showed cultural differences in NV behavior. Emblematic gestures seemed to vary most markedly, but differences in postures, eye contact and proxemic factors were also found. Crosscultural experiments on facial expression suggested more universal traits, though expressions of disgust, fear and surprise were often judged as ambiguous.

It is evident then that cultural background does play an important role in the formation of NV behavior. At the same time there seem to be some signals that are shared worldwide. We can recognize someone's pain, be it kinsman or stranger, without looking in a NV dictionary. Then again, some of the consciously used hand gestures of the Arab or the Frenchman may not tell us anything at all. The solution seems to

lie in the acknowledgement of different expression types. The term NV behavior covers a multitude of acts that have not much more in common than that they are not-verbal, a broad definition indeed. Universalists like Ekman and Eibesfeldt have recognized this fact by building theoretical frameworks that categorize NV acts. According to them some NV behaviors are learned, while others are innate or programmed to develop.

In its effort not to exclude any expressions that might prove to be emotional, this study will include a wide range of NV behaviors. Although it has not been determined which of these are direct expressions of emotion and which of them play a different role, it seems evident that some are more connected to feelings than others. The often unintentional expressions of the face seem more emotional than a highly intricate gesture language. Can it be then that emotion expressions are basically universal and other NV signals culturally learned? All of this is just conjecture and much more research will be needed to decide the point. Though the need for more crosscultural research is evident, less attention has been given to the methods such investigations employ. The next section will briefly touch upon this issue.

A note on Research Methods

Being a product of a young science, the reviewed material was quite heterogenous. Literature ranged from personal impressions of perceptive observers to carefully conducted scientific projects, and even within that last category results sometimes contradicted each other. Hall's notion of non-contact oriented North American society was contradicted by the results of experiments by Little, Shuter, and Forston and Larson. Similarly, Klineberg's study of Chinese literature showed

results that opposed the conclusions of Ekman and Izard, and Izard's finding - supported by Kilbride -- that the positive emotions seem more easily recognized than the negative ones conflicted with the findings of Beier and Zautra. Part of the reason for such puzzling results can be found in the widely different research designs. One basic difference was that between encoding and decoding formats. The subjects were asked to imagine certain situations and to express their emotions nonverbally. These encoding expressions were then compared between cultures. In a decoding format subject were asked to interpret expressions of others, matching them with emotion words from a given list. The first approach can generate problems by using a situation to illicit an emotion; while such "illicitors" themselves are known to be among the cultural influences under investigation. With the second method the researcher gets easily involved in complex language problems. If the subject can choose his own words, then how can these be given a culture-free interpretation? If the subject is given a preconceived list of emotions, matters only get worse.

The research designs also were different in the materials they employed. Some investigators looked at a culture's product, such as books and drawings, instead of directly observing its people. Inferences from this kind of material have to be made with care. In other studies dolls or paper silhouettes were used to have the subject encode NV behavior. It is of course questionable if the responses would have been the same in real-life situations. For decoding purposes photographs were frequently chosen, though Cugeloglu (1967) made a strong case for his stylized drawings. Other issues regarding decoding were the preferability of spontaneous vs. simulated expressions, and the possibly

higher realistic value of moving film fragments.

Only with time and a lot more research can we determine what the best approaches are. Our methods are all products of a Western perspective. Until we start to understand other cultures better the best tactics will be to understand our own, and to illiminate from our research as many cultural assumptions as possible.

Suggestions for Future Research.

Though the present study has been thorough, it has not been complete. The Human Relations Area Files form one promising source of documentation not explored by this author. The material contained in the HRAF excerpts has been coded for certain categories of information. Since none of these categories define our topic precisely such a search will be a time consuming matter. Of particular interest would also be a search for experiments by non-Western scientists conducted in their home country. Such material would give Western theorists an idea of the cultural assumptions inherent in American and Western European research designs.

Above all, however, more practical field research is needed. From the material in our bibliography it is apparent that quantitative research has been most productive in areas where some theory building has already taken place. Both field observations and theoretical work are needed comparing NV behavior between cultures and exploring their subcultural trends, an important area that was not addressed in this thesis. In the course of such research, methods and approaches have to be tested continually for their hidden cultural assumptions.

Another field that needs further exploring is that of cultural differences in emotions and emotion concepts. Several emotions have

been recognized as fundamental to Western cultures (Tomkins, 1962, Izard, 1968). The happy-sad distinction certainly generated few problems crossculturally, but fear and surprise were confused in some cultures and contempt was not always recognized. An interesting study conducted by Leff (1973) suggests that developed countries show a greater differentiation of emotional states than developing countries. Not only can the number of emotions differ, the conceptual framework itself can be culturally determined. Such a difference can be illustrated comparing the color range we are used to with that of the ancient Greeks who coded colors in terms of their brightness; dark, pale, and bright were more real to them than red, green, and blue. The dimensional theory of emotion would appear to be a particularly promising approach in uncovering such culturally determined emotion concepts.

Crosscultural research on emotion, emotion concepts, and emotion expression should all help to bring about more knowledge of cultural influences on NV behavior. For psychotherapists of the future this will hopefully mean that specialized training programs will become available as part of their professional education.* Such programs could focus on each specific culture and present filmed or taped material on its NV behavior as one aspect of this society's way of life. In the meantime it will be helpful to be aware of how our own cultural background has formed our perception. Only by recognizing and questioning our own cultural assumptions can we be open to the inner world of other cultures, and start to meet the demands of successful crosscultural psychotherapy.

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*Seminars in analysis of (culturally undifferentiated) body movement are available at The Institute of Nonverbal Communication Research and the Laban Institute of Movement Studies in New York.

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